

## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY DRAFTED:EA/J:DFLAMBERTSON:BCL

APPROVED BY P - MR. PHILIP C. HABIB

EA/J - WILLIAM C. SHERMAN

S/S - MR. BRIDGES

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 226003

EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, US

SUBJECT: TOGO-HABIB MEETING, SEPTEMBER 10

REF: STATE 224586

SUMMARY: AT HIS REQUEST, AMBASSADOR TOGO CALLED ON UNDER SECRETARY HABIB SEPTEMBER 10 TO DISCUSS VARIETY OF ISSUES PRIOR TO TOGO'S DEPARTURE FOR CONSULTATIONS IN TOKYO. TOGO ASKED HABIB'S VIEWS ON VIETNAM AND KOREAN ISSUES IN UN, FOREIGN POLICY RAMIFICATIONS OF MAO'S DEATH, US EFFORTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND PROGRESS OF LOS CONFERENCE. HE ALSO RAISED TWO BILATERAL ISSUES, FISHERIES AND CIVIL AVIATION. DISCUSSION OF MIG-25 DISPOSITION WAS REPORTED REFTEL. AMBASSADOR HODGSON ALSO PARTICIPATED. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING BRIEF EXCHANGE CONCERNING US ELECTIONCAMPAIGN, IN WHICH HABIB AND TOGO AGREED THAT SOLIDITY OF BI-PARTISAN SUPPORT FOR OUR CLOSE TIES WITH JAPAN INSURES CONTINUITY OF US POLICY REGARDLESS OF OUTCOME, TOGO TURNED TO VIETNAM AND KOREA ISSUES IN UN. ON VIETNAM, TOGO NOTED

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THAT GOJ SUPPORTS SRV ADMISSION AND ASKED FOR HABIB'S

VIEWS. HABIB SAID THAT SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF ISSUE WOULD COME SEPTEMBER 14 AT EARLIEST. HE NOTED THERE IS POSSIBILITY, THOUGH NOT STRONG ONE, THAT SRV MIGHT DEFER ITS APPLICATION. POSSIBILITY OF OUR RECEIVING FULL MIA ACCOUNTING BY SEPTEMBER 14 IS OF COURSE EVEN SLIMMER. THIS BEING CASE, SRV WOULD BE WISE TO DEFER. US DOES NOT WISH TO CLOSE DOOR ON SRV, BUT NEITHER CAN WE ACCEPT ONLY PIECEMEAL GESTURES ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO US. ON KOREA, HABIB CONFIRMED THAT MOVING FOR DEFERRAL OF DEBATE REMAINS UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION IN NEW YORK, ALTHOUGH PROSPECTS ARE HIGHLY UNCERTAIN. CORE GROUP MEMBERS WILL BE TAKING SOUNDINGS FROM OTHER GOVERNMENTS IN NEXT FEW DAYS CONCERNING POSSIBILITY OF DEFERRAL.

2. WITH RESPECT TO CHINA, TOGO EXPRESSED VIEW THAT MAO'S DEATH WILL BE FOLLOWED BY PROLONGED PERIOD OF INTERNAL INSTABILITY BUT WITHOUT MAJOR CHANGE IN BROAD FOREIGN POLICY LINES. HE SURMISED THAT MOSCOW WOULD TRY TO "PLAY POLITICS" WITH PRC LEADERSHIP WHILE IT IS IN FLUX, BUT WOULD NOT SUCCEED. TOGO EXPECTED PRC-JAPAN RELATIONS TO REMAIN ON COURSE. HE DOUBTED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WOULD BE EARLY PROGRESS TOWARD CONCLUSION OF PFT, BECAUSE OF POLITICAL SITUATIONS IN BOTH COUNTRIES. TOGO ASKED HOW MAO'S DEMISE WOULD AFFECT PRC-US RELATIONS AND PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZATION, NOTING ARGUMENT RECENTLY POPULAR AMONG NON-USG CHINA WATCHERS THAT NORMALIZATION COULD BEST BE ACCOMPLISHED WHILE MAO STILL ON SCENE. HABIB SAID THAT ARGUMENT WAS REJECTED SOME TIME AGO; USG FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT NORMALIZATION WILL PROCEED ON ITS MERITS, INDEPENDENT OF PERSONALITIES. HE ADDED THAT WE HAD RECEIVED AUTHORITATIVE ASSURANCE ONLY TWO DAYS PRIOR TO MAO'S DEATH THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGES FORTHCOMING IN PRC POLICY TOWARD US. HABIB ADDED THAT DESPITE PRESS SPECULATION TO CONTRARY IN US AND ELSEWHERE, THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN PEKING'S POSITION REGARDING TAIWAN.

3. ASKED TO DESCRIBE NATURE OF OUR EFFORTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, HABIB SAID SECRETARY WOULD BE TALKING INITIALLY WITH NYERERE AND KAUNDA AND THEN WITH VORSTER, WITH REGARD TO RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. IN BOTH CASES, PROPOSALS  
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ENVISION MAJORITY RULE BUT ALSO MAKE PROVISION FOR PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS. HE NOTED EXTREME COMPLEXITY OF PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, WITH CONFRONTATIONAL SITUATIONS COMPOUNDED BY FACTIONAL DISPUTES. PROSPECT OF WORKABLE SOLUTION FOR NAMIBIA APPEARS REASONABLY GOOD, FOR RHODESIA SOMEWHAT LESS SO. HABIB SAID WE HAVE BEEN WORKING CLOSELY WITH UK IN SEEKING SOLUTIONS AND HAVE CONSULTED TO LESSER EXTENT WITH OTHER EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS. SECRE-

TARY INTENDS TO SPEND AS MUCH TIME IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS PROGRESS OR LACK THEREOF WARRANTS AND WILL GO TO SOUTH AFRICA. HE IS LIKELY TO BE AWAY AT LEAST TEN DAYS.

4. ON FISHERIES, TOGO SAID GOJ REMAINS DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER ROLE REGIONAL MANAGEMENT COUNCILS WILL PLAY UNDER OUR NEW LEGISLATION, AND CONTINUES TO HAVE DIFFICULTY ACCEPTING OUR EXTENDED JURISDICTION. HE SAID GOJ NEGOTIATORS WERE SATISFIED WITH FIRST ROUND OF TALKS, BUT SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES WERE NOT NARROWED AND GOJ CONCERN IS UNALLAYED. TOGO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT NEW REGIME COULD BE IMPLEMENTED GRADUALLY, AND THAT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD KEEP CLOSE WATCH OVER REGIONAL MANAGEMENT COUNCILS, HABIB SAID USG IS FULLY AWARE OF HOW IMPORTANT THIS ISSUE IS TO JAPAN, AND WILL CONTINUE TO TRY, WITHIN LIMITS OF OUR LEGISLATION, TO ACHIEVE SATISFACTORY SOLUTION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT FISHERIES ISSUE IS HIGHLY POLITICAL IN US AS WELL AS IN JAPAN AND THAT, GIVEN NATURE OF PROBLEM AND REGIONAL INTERESTS INVOLVED, POLITICAL PRESSURES HERE ARE UNLIKELY TO BE DIMINISHED BY NOVEMBER ELECTIONS. NEVERTHELESS, WE WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ACHIEVE EQUITABLE SOLUTION.

5. TOGO SAID IMPENDING CIVIL AVIATION NEGOTIATIONS WERE ALSO MATTER OF HIGH PRIORITY IN TOKYO. HE ADDED THAT RECENT UK DENUNCIATION OF BERMUDA AGREEMENT "IS ENCOURAGING OUR PEOPLE". HABIB NOTED WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF GOJ POSITION ON THIS ISSUE, AS GOJ IS AWARE OF OURS; US NEGOTIATORS WILL BE MAKING SERIOUS EFFORTS IN TOKYO TALKS TO NARROW DIFFERENCES AND ACHIEVE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME.

6. TOGO SAID GOJ IS DISCOURAGED BY LACK OF PROGRESS IN  
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LOS NEGOTIATIONS, NOTING THAT QUESTION OF JURISDICTION OVER STRAITS IS TOKYO'S MAJOR CONCERN. HABIB SAID WE TOO WOULD HAVE LIKED TO SEE MORE ACCOMPLISHED IN NEW YORK, BUT SECRETARY IS NOT PARTICULARLY PESSIMISTIC. HE NOTED THAT WE AND GOJ SEE QUESTION OF STRAITS PASSAGE IN SIMILAR TERMS. FOR US ISSUE OF DEEP SEABED JURISDICTION IS PARTICULARLY KNOTTY. WE HAVE PUT FORWARD REASONABLE COMPROMISE, BUT CANNOT GO ALONG WITH UNDILUTED INTERNATIONAL REGIME.

7. DURING BRIEF DISCUSSION OF JAPANESE POLITICAL SITUATION (TOGO OFFERED NO PREDICTIONS) TOGO EMPHASIZED NECESSITY OF EARLY DIET ACTION ON PENDING BUDGET LEGISLATION. HE SAID THAT DEFICIT FINANCING BILL WOULD HAVE EFFECT, INTER ALIA, OF STIMULATING GROWTH OF US EXPORTS TO JAPAN. AM-

BASSADOR HODGSON NOTED THAT WHILE FISHERIES SEEMED MOST  
IMPORTANT BILATERAL ISSUE TO JAPANESE, HIS CONVERSATIONS IN  
WASHINGTON AND ELSEWHERE IN US INDICATED CLEARLY THAT  
FROM THIS SIDE OF OCEAN TRADE IMBALANCE AND NEED TO BOOST  
US EXPORTS LOOM LARGEST. TOGO AGREED WITH THIS OBSER-  
VATION AND SAID GOJ INCREASINGLY AWARE OF PROBLEM. ROBINSON

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